1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

the gut, such as the colon fat and kidney fat, as well as the heart, liver, and head are cached with the meat, the cache being protected by covering it with additional green willow or spruce brush. The hunter packs only enough meat for all families in camp to eat. A wife generally distributes this meat after her husband's return. The next morning, each family sends representatives to pack home a share of the kill. Nobody is necessarily invited on such an expedition, but everyone is free to join.[9] Dogs are taken as pack animals or, in winter, are harnessed to a toboggan. The hunter generally accompanies the group, leading the way. When the meat place is reached, tea is started and the viscera of the dead animal thrown to the dogs. Everybody then sets about butchering a quarter of the carcass and appropriating the meat. The whole procedure is fluid and unformalized, resting solely on each individual's initiative. No one exercises leadership or direction. Tea is ready by the time the meat has been divided. A lunch is generally prepared by roasting several ribs or tenderloin steaks in front of the fire. Leg bones are also roasted and then cracked for the marrow. When eating has been completed, the dogs or toboggan are packed and the party returns home.

Moose hunting, as well as big game hunting in general, is undertaken by a man, although there are no restrictions preventing a woman from engaging in the activity if she feels capable of doing so, particularly if she has no one to supply her with meat. In the fall several families will travel fifteen or twenty miles to a good "moose place," where a base camp is established from which individuals go out to hunt.

The amount of time and energy consumed in moose hunting may be judged by an inspection of the data in Table 4. It must be noted that this was the fourth year in which moose were reported to be extremely scarce in the Upper Liard River area, where these incidents were observed.

TABLE 4. AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT ON MOOSE HUNTING—1947

Personnel	Time Spent	Results
Louis Moise and Peter Tom	Seven hours	Three duck
Louis Moise and white man	Five hours	Nothing
Nitla	Three days	One porcupine
Harry Lang	Two hours	One cow moose
Hans Donnelly and Nitla	Two days	Nothing

The time schedules are difficult to summarize in a table. For example, on October 1 Old Man left for a moose hunting trip. His son-in-law, Hans Donnelly, left to join him on October 3, together with Louis Moise and his family. On October 7 Old Man's remaining son-in-law, Harry Lang, joined the hunters, accompanied by Nitla. Harry and Nitla reached the base camp of the hunters [illegible] which Hans had killed on the previous day. During the remaining three weeks that all except one man in this group hunted, not one other moose was killed, although several were missed. Harry and Nitla

[9] Such sharing of meat is strongly supported. Old Johns ostracized an cousin of Rover Joe who refused to share meat. If someone approached this man while he was butchering and asked for a share of the kill, the latter would reply: "No, go get meat yourself." Such behavior met with strong disapproval.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

stayed out hunting a total of ten unproductive days, Hans sixteen days, and Old Man twenty days—a total of forty-six man days in which only one moose was killed.

Harry Lang's journal for 1940 was analyzed to discover the number of days spent hunting and the amount of game killed. The figures are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5. ANALYSIS OF TIME SPENT IN HUNTING—1940

Date	Number of Persons	Results
April 23		"No luck"
April 24		One caribou
May 1		"3 or 5" caribou
May 5		"No luck"
May 8	2	Four caribou
May 9	2	One caribou
May 10-11	3	One beaver, one moose
May 16-18	2	One beaver, one moose
May 23		No luck
May 24		One caribou
June 3-4		One moose
June 27		No luck
July 5-6		Two moose
July 9		One bull moose
July 11		One bull moose
August 8-14	2-3	Three bull moose, four goats
August 27-31	2-3	Three bull moose

The brief period studied reveals both more time invested in hunting and greater success in this activity than were manifested during the term of field work. An explanation for the former hunting may lie in the fact that during the winter of 1939-40, Harry's settlement was short of food.[1] As a result, it seems likely that not enough time could be spent trapping to permit a leisurely summer in Lower Post. Hence the summer was utilized for hunting, the meat being important for seeing the family through till fall.

Caribou are generally sought after the beginning of December, when small flocks begin to descend from the mountains to river valleys. They are far easier to hunt than moose, and it is often possible to shoot several on the frozen river without moving far from the settlement.

A rabbit hunter can operate in a radius of a mile or two from camp and seldom spends [illegible] pack, the hunter starts in the late afternoon, seeking a place where black spruce grows thickly. Walking carefully, he peers under the brush and watches spaces between more distant trees. In 1945, a man generally managed to return with one or two of these animals after two hours in the bush. Rabbits are skinned and cleaned by women, to whom the hunter turns over the catch when he returns to camp. Rabbit hunting is usually done by

[1] See below, p. 103.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

should be visited once every ten days or oftener, in order to remove fur and worthless prey like rabbits and squirrels. Frequent visiting of a trap line is important for several other reasons. In the first place, leaving animals in the traps too long increases the danger of losing them to wolves, wolverines, and coyotes. Also, if a movable toggle is used, the animal before it dies may drag the trap a considerable distance. If not discovered in time, subsequent heavy snowfalls will conceal the tracks and carcass of the animal. Finally, the more often a man resets sprung traps, the more fur he can expect to accumulate. In practice, the ideal schedule is rarely followed. A man returning home to visit his family and to obtain additional food often delays returning to his trap line for a week or more. In December his routine is badly broken by a longer absence from the trap line, this time for a visit to Lower Post to obtain new supplies. Illness of the trapper or a member of the family may further delay his return. It can be estimated that trap lines are revisited on the average of about once every two to three weeks.

The pattern of crowing trap lines is revealed in the chronological record of events that occurred in Old Man's settlement. These notes are abstracted from the ethnographer's journal.

03/3/45. Harry left this morning to take traps and food to his cabin. Earlier in the morning John, Johns and Elsie Long left to take food to a cache halfway to Old Man's trap line. Mrs. Johns returned early, but Harry returned after night fell.

03/4/45. Despite snow, Old Man and his wife left at about ten o'clock to go on their trap line. At about one o'clock Harry Long and his family left for their base camp. Raymond and Donald Sam returned from Lower Post with additional food and traps for Old Man.

03/5/45. Hess explained that he cannot go to his trap line until he has finished his snowshoes. It snowed most of the day.

03/6/45. Harry continued to finish his sleigh and snowshoes. He will leave again tomorrow.

03/7/45. Harry left for his line cabin at about two o'clock. He planned to stay until November 1st. He will then return for more food or, if he has skins, will go to Lower Post.

03/8/45. Hess said he would start for his trap line tomorrow.

03/9/45. Hess delayed his departure for one more day and spent the afternoon improving several miles of winter road running to his trap line from the settlement. Old Man and his wife returned to the base afternoon for additional traps.

03/10/45. Hess got off for his trap line today with his brother, Raymond.

03/11/45. Old Lady Johnny died.

03/12/45. Hess and Raymond returned to secure dog packs, the former explaining that the snow was not yet deep enough for toboggan travel. Harry and his family also returned, having been summoned to help bury the old lady.

03/14/45. Beer drunk.

03/15/45. Old lady buried.

03/16/45. Old Man set half a dozen traps across the river.

03/16/45 to 03/24/45. The boys hunted, and Hess shot one moose.

03/25/45. Harry and his family returned to their trap line. Old Man explained that his wife's illness is delaying their return. Hess planned to return to his line today, but postponed departure in order to permit Raymond to finish a pair of snowshoes.

03/27/45. Hess and Raymond left for the trap line.

03/31/45. Old Man visited his dog's line across the river but returned without fur.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

224 15/4/45. Old Man and his wife (who was still feeding ill) left for the trap line. Harry returned with one lynx and two fox.
15/7/45. Plane returned with two lynx and one fox.
15/10/45. Started for Lower Post.

224 Most trapping is done with the aid of metal traps obtained from local trading stores in various sizes. A well-equipped trapper acquires fifty or more traps. If he is diligent and well supplied he sets traps at about a quarter-mile intervals.

The trap is set in a locale showing animal tracks or at a spot which is reported to be favorable or lucky for trapping a certain species of fur-bearing animal. A fox or lynx trap is generally set with the aid of two trees. One of these, a tree two or three inches in diameter, is lightly grazed with an ax about twelve inches from the ground. About half a teaspoonful of scent or bait is smeared on the exposed wood, and the trap placed at the base. The second tree, a live sapling about an inch thick, is cleared of branches and used as a fixed toggle—the chain of the trap being slipped over the tree. If two trees are not found in conjunction at a likely place, a free toggle, a pole two or three inches in diameter and six feet long, is used and lodged under a large piece of deadwood. Heavier toggles are employed for animals, like the wolverine, which would chew through a thin sapling. The trap itself is set on a thin layer of brush in order to prevent it from freezing into the snow. Four or five bare twigs, about ten inches high, are set at both sides of the trap on a pass and are designed to force the animal to come straight to the bait and thus step into the open trap. The stick used to smear the scent on the bluer is placed to the rear of the trap as an additional lure. To set a trap in this fashion takes about five minutes. The favorite bait for lynx, fox, mink, and other animals is a mixture of ground beaver castors mixed with lard or butter. A dried squirrel caught in a trap may also be left for bait. Blood or meat is regarded as suitable bait for weasel, while oil of anise is used for beavers, mink, fisher, and coyote. Canned sardines may occasionally be substituted for beaver castors. Sometimes no bait or scent is used and the trap is set blind in the middle of a trail, being covered with a little dry grass. Indians are not generally interested in the experimental approach which white trappers lend to their work, but a number of Nahane Indians reported utilizing bright paper and coffee tins to attract animals' attention. In addition to metal traps, most men also set four or five wire snares for wolf and coyote.

By the time a trapper revisits his trap line, the animals caught have generally frozen to death. If they are still alive they are either shot in the head with a .22 or, if not wraps, clubbed to death with a stick.

230 The general procedure in the event a beaver is caught and which in a family we are trapping in this territory agreed upon as his part of the trap line. Sometimes, however, two men, related or unrelated, may set traps together in a single area. Generally one of these "partners" is a youth who is often selected to accompany his companion. Although the two men operate together, each really traps independently. That is, the fur caught in the traps which he sets (whether these traps are owned by, or leased to, him) is his own. The same principle obtains if adolescent girls or married women set traps given to them by a husband or father; the fur caught becomes their own.

224 With the arrival of the beaver season a family may leave the winter settlement and move to an area near a beaver resort. Beaver, being less difficult to obtain than fox but earning

1: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

saleable width is sacrificed in the lumber by the practice of hewing the inner section of the split trunk almost as much as the outer, rounded section. This is done in order to preserve that portion of the wood which bends more readily and which lies toward the outside of the standing tree. It also assures a stronger piece of lumber, since the softest wood is said to be on the interior near the core. Hewing is usually completed at the spot where the wood was obtained. The boards are then carried into camp where they may be further planed or smoothed and bent. 313 322

Two men can split a piece of poplar, seven feet long and about seven inches in diameter, and hew two boards, two inches thick, in about twenty-five minutes. Nitih, working more painstakingly, hewed an unsplit piece of poplar, seven feet long and four inches in diameter, in about thirty-five minutes. To split two birch logs, ten feet long and six inches in diameter, and hew three pieces of lumber, each an inch thick, occupied Hans Donnelly for about five hours. He worked patiently and carefully and seemed preoccupied with his task. Actually, however, he often stopped work to communicate some thought that was passing through his mind, generally one unconnected with the task at hand. He also solicited the ethnographer's opinion of what was being accomplished. 313 461

Lumber is whipsawed on saw-pits which stand in some nearby part of the forest where large trees are available. If a log cannot be moved to a saw-pit, it may be whipsawed by being felled across a fallen tree, or else it is blocked up with pieces of wood. In such cases whipsawing becomes a laborious operation in which one man must crawl under the log while the other stands at the upper end of the saw. Before whipsawing, the wood is generally cleared of its bark. Guidelines for sawing are made along the length of the log by means of a string which has been rubbed with a piece of charcoal wood. Two men hold the string, one at either end of the log. One then picks up the line and allows it to snap against the wood, leaving the imprint of a straight line. 313

Thin poles, such as are used in making snowshoe frames, are hewed or trimmed with a butcher knife. Straight grained black spruce, about one inch in diameter, is selected for this purpose. Each pole is cut an inch or two longer than the desired length of the lumber and brought into camp. In cold weather the wood is thawed before being worked. With a knife, the pole is now trimmed on two directly opposite sides to a thickness of about five-eighths of an inch in the center but thinner at one end. The width of the original sapling is retained and even the bark is left on the wood at this point. The pole is now ready to be bent in order to serve as half a snowshoe frame.

Lumber is generally planed with a carpenter's plane and sawed with a Swedish buck or carpenter's saw, but in an emergency both these operations may be performed with an ax. To cut lumber with an ax, the ax is first driven straight into the wood at the point where the separation is desired (Fig. 1, *a*). The wood is then cut from below at a forty-five degree angle to the first cut. Further cutting takes place at the apex of each angle, the blade driving straight into the wood until the separation is effected. In cutting with a saw, the T-square is used to mark off a straight edge. If sawing must be done along the length of a board, a chestnut line is used to mark off a level edge. 322 313

Wood may be bent on a bending frame or by hand. Toboggan boards are bent and dried on the bending frame described above. That portion of a piece of lumber which was lowest 322

1 A [see category 116, p.58 -- Analyst]

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

515 do so any where except in a house containing a lumber floor. In their homes, persons who chew tobacco or take snuff generally expectorate into a small tin can containing an inch of water which is kept standing under the bed. Members of either sex are often seen bending from the waist and studying a stream of mucuous for signs of blood. Both sexes generally clean the nose by blowing it between the thumb and index finger, then wiping the hand on the side of the trousers or dress. Nose picking is frequent.

461 The English word "work" has restricted significance among the Kaska, since it is almost
464 exclusively applied to hiring out to white men for wages. Hiring out for woodcutting, lumbering, freight handling, and working for government survey parties, is seldom undertaken except in case of necessity. Duties outside the society which require special abilities, such as piloting river boats, are far more satisfactorily regarded by the Indians. Since the completion of the Highway, opportunities for such work are no longer available. During the building of the airport, a number of men hired out to contractors and this period is looked back on with considerable pleasure, chiefly because of the excellent remuneration and the gifts (food, cigarettes, and liquor) that were received. Women do not hire out for wages, although some women earn a little money making dog packs and moccasins to order for white trappers.

461 In general Indian men find it far more pleasant to be their own supervisors in the performance of their own socially patterned tasks than to hire out and work for either white men or other Indians. While certain of these necessary duties are more or less congenial to specific individuals, no evidence could be obtained of tasks which were generally regarded as onerous or unpleasant. In several interviews Nitla saw the Indian man's typical round of activities as a somewhat futile and painful way of existence. He tended to pity himself and compared the Indian's life to that of the white man who "just sit down one place." On one occasion he said: "By goodness, man hard time. Move the camp around . . . go after camp. I go hunt around that way. Make fire, hunt. Sometime get no moose. Second time hunt moose again. No moose. Woman set snare, bring rabbits, meat. Sometime pack berries home. Cook, mix, eat. Another man hunt moose. Who lucky for game, get moose. Pack home. Give that man a piece of meat. After, people move camp. Make the dried meat. Sit down. Some finish game. Hunt the moose again . . . woman find porcupine sometime. Find two. Clean 'em. That man want porcupine. Kids he send them. Give half sometime . . . Hunt moose, two men apiece each. Woman stay, just watch the camp. Have to go a long way to shoot the moose. Sometime lost moose . . . Oh, hard luck! He's stuck. He keep one dog, hunt
[192] porcupine. Dog he find porcupine. He not find porcupine, nothing to eat one day. Sleep. Kids he soon crying . . . Mother mean. Hell! My goodness!"[9]

461 The principal incentive for accepting work with white men or other Indians (as in
465 housebuilding) is the need to earn money for summer living following a poor trapping season. Men who have had a successful trapping period are, of course, completely uninterested in hiring out. Nick Lang said frankly that he disliked working for wages because such work

[9] It must be noted that Nitla is referring to the way of life of the Frances Lake Indians who, in an area of high prices, cannot get sufficient fur to buy a winter's supply of food and so are highly dependent on game for subsistence. This in turn curtails their opportunities to trap. Thus they are inextricably caught in a vicious circle.

1: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1949) 1949 ND12 Hakuna ND12

did not permit him to earn enough money. During the building of the Wrenco Lake airport he did some transportation using his own boat and earned eighteen dollars a day. He quit because meals were inadequate and the contractors wouldn't increase his wages to twenty-five dollars a day. Even when there is a direct necessity to earn additional money during the summer, work habits are apt to be sporadic. White men, who have had experience with Indian labor, try whenever possible to arrange payment on a piecework basis. Even this fails to spur production. Although work is often accepted enthusiastically, with optimistic visions of the rich rewards to follow, enthusiasm seldom endures and jobs are readily abandoned for various reasons. Often the opportunity to join a drinking party results in the interruption of production. In summer, the hour is given as an excuse for knocking off. Dances, with resultant late sleeping, also cut the number of hours that can be put into such work. One youth quit a job with a survey party because too much tax was deducted from his earnings. Finally the potential productive capacity of the Indian is removed by the leisurely pace at which he is accustomed to working.

The Indian's motivation in connection with work for white men was very well demonstrated when, in early autumn, the Upper Laird Indians decided to spend a couple of weeks at the Highway Crossing before going upriver. They planned to earn money cutting timber for a white man's sawmill. The men set out from Lower Post full of enthusiasm. They calculated the number of trees that could be cut in an hour and estimated their daily earnings hopefully. For two days most of the men worked about four hours a day. On the third day, a horse became ready and no one worked, while on the following day lumpyness made every one reluctant to earn himself. On that day Richard Day and Edward Peters decided to return to Lower Post. They had become involved in a brawl with Upper Laird Indians and felt themselves unwanted in the community. Four days later Louis Moss and River Joe cut some more logs, for which they were promised five hundred to use for construction of their winter settlements. This finished the woodcutting and now everyone began to talk of getting home to hunt before the moose started to run.

When people work for themselves, the chief incentives may be classified as securing food to eat, securing for which can be traded for food, maintaining cultural expectations of conduct and cleanliness, and, finally, providing necessary equipment, such as snowshoes or toboggans. Another motivation arises from the pride which most people experience in their achievements. Despite these motivations, only slightly more effort is invested in socially patterned tasks than in activities undertaken for whims. Although it is recognized that certain tasks can be completed within a specific period of time (a birch tree be chopped in two days, a toboggan can be finished in three days, twenty trees can be cut in one day), meeting a time limit is not a strong incentive and rarely are such standards met in practice. Few men trap as much of an area as they are capable of covering. Success in hunting and trapping, although requiring some knowledge of animal habits and considerable skill in tracking, is primarily founded on perseverance. This fact is appreciated by the Indians, but success is also ascribed to luck. Some men are very "lucky for skins" or game, others are not. Perseverance and determination are also undermined by the attitude that one should not be too anxious for fur. "If you work something too much, that game don't want to get into your trap." Procrastination is habitual. Despite the statements of Louis Moss and others that

[illegible]

[illegible] they had to have the bridge in exact same location before the bulk began to run, so serious hunting was done before the bulking season was well advanced. The attractions and need of setting a fish net trap were discussed for several days, but the net never got set and logs continued to be fed on the disappearing log fast.

Ideally [illegible] work possessions, and "nothing" are highly evaluated. Advice to a young man stresses the importance of early rising and of always doing something. One morning Old Mike remarked, "Willy sleeping yet. Maybe that's the reason he's got nothing ... used to be Harry (Old Mike's son-in-law) like that. I had to talk about his fat hungry. He still on that time. 'You're right. When I'm gonna die? Why not hungry. How I'm gonna live?' I tell him, 'You gotta make the yourself.' " As earlier Old Mike and Harry Long gave me evidence of "nothing" during the period that observation was possible. The period of hard work and great drive was always being planned and was consistently consistent but never materialized.

Except when traveling, there is little tendency to begin economic duties early in the day. Women generally get up before men and start the fire, although usually a man should do this in very cold weather. If men get up first, they may start a fire and then lying around doing nothing until a woman wakes up and prepares breakfast. Women, usually having customers from daughters, seldom spend more than a few hours a day doing housework. In Lower Post, where duties are more times, much time is spent by the family visiting or sitting around the various trading stores, meeting friends and engaging in business conversation. Periods of strenuous work by men - breaktrail[illegible], hunting and trapping - are often succeeded by several days devoted to relaxation. On the whole, the men of the upper subarctic, relaxed, and unhurrying.

[illegible]

The material culture just described presents a picture of Kaska Indians' adaptation to the demands of their basic and social environments. The exploitation of the game and fur resources of the Canadian region may be regarded as the b.b. of this adaptive process. Game is directly consumed and in forms as important here to the native economy. For is directly processed and exchanged for capital and consumer goods which the society requires to supplement environmental resources and domestic technology. This is a bald summary of the essential economic relationships the adaptive mechanism. We now propose to evidence the data presented in the preceding sections. The question we want to answer is both succinctly do the Kaska solve their adaptive problems?

The evidence leaves no doubt of the genius which Kaska society possesses for adapting to the exigencies of its northern environments. One of the most serious problems ensuring generation against which has been so well known that almost never do we hear of serious fluctuation. With the aid of proven devices, like the snowshoe and toboggan, travel remains unimpaired by the basic primitive snows. Women sewed and the efficient accompaniments of grub to the long line are, of course, indispensable to the modern trapping economy. Obvious conveniences like the gun, steel traps, outboard motors, stove, and sleeping bag instantly used having their adaptive utility accepted. In short, the Kaska are apparently well equipped technically and materially for carrying out behaviors that insure life and comfort. For when

[illegible]

[illegible] things according to the detailed specifications of adults, unless the child is given an opportunity to work out for himself the results of many cultural tasks. The responsibilities accorded to a twelve-year-old may vividly demonstrate a lesson that when five children, ranging from seven to twelve, climbed over a tree to cross the Lapti River. The oldest boy could not reach the outboard motor and his vessel began to drift down the swift current. He gave orders to his companions, and five children seated the very men on each side, and in the way they rowed.

Coincident with the child's early development of independence and a sense of personal responsibility is the fact that children, especially girls, are not long exempt from participation in economic contributions to the family. It must be realized, however, that in a society where only extremely hard periods of overwork (like an expedition or a necessary) and in which there are considerable leisurely, outdoor occupations, there remains abundant free time which children may share for themselves. The Dusun girl, like her brother, is not a household drudge and the economic obligations of children do not restrict either sex from play or from social companion with agemates.

Adolescence

The period from puberty to marriage is relatively short one for the Dusun girl and with slightly longer for the boy. It is a time which marks the full growth of the independence for which young people have been prepared since early childhood. We could recognize marks the transition to puberty in the boy or girl.

Menarche is handled as a crucial fact in a girl's [illegible] Her association can even be [illegible] a crisis that her daughter has reached physical maturity. Acquaintances of seven-year-old [illegible] only recently disappeared.[1] Apart from the fact that some men refrain from sexual intercourse during menstruation, there are apparently no restrictions concerning girls' behavior at this time. Many mothers are reluctant to speak of menstruation, even to other women, for subject they are a subtle one for discussing detailed information. According to Dusunic [illegible] no physicians a mean to avoid the menstrual flow. Observations suggest that younger women often change their cloths to shower when the flow is in progress.

For the girl puberty is accompanied by the most changes in the economic role. She has been using a small [illegible] one or two and has already been given the task of running her mother's errand. While her mother is gone for the harvest wrapping and running errand from her own one her own. The adolescent girl is generally a [illegible] and is able to make threats or accusations and has sufficiently observed the processing of [illegible] to be able to carry out the task herself. In a town she is able to her experience in the physiological operation present. Beginning with puberty a well-known relationship, phrased as dummy, begins to develop between many girls and their fathers. This period ends when the girl is married. "I [illegible] to the times like we have," she [illegible] "From she grew up I wouldn't talk to her, follow like that."

The economic role of the boy has not been so fully developed as the girl's, due to, unlike her sister, he has not been given as many opportunities to learn the socially approved roles

[1] The references regarding [illegible] have been of to the use of [illegible] preparations as females. Recent [illegible] have [illegible]